

European States can disturb none but visionary minds. We can never be dangerous, unless we are armed. We were never so great, and

never so completely unharmed, as we were before the war broke out. We were never before so short of corn as we are now. Now, through the operation of domestic faction; yet we have never before been so strongly armed as we are at this moment, upon land and sea. It is the most aggressive, the most warlike, the most enterprising, the most intelligent abroad, as it was the same interior that has now afflicted ourselves with civil war. It is the most peaceful nation, if we are left to enjoy ourselves in domestic tranquillity, that our destiny leads us. We can only be come a disturber of the world's peace by being called into the world to defend that indepen-

I do not know in what way Great Britain and France may think it expedient to reverse the just policies they have hitherto pursued in regard to us, but I think that in order to direct our efforts to the most important European affairs, they must soon come to a conclusion that it is wise to remit American assistance.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
WILLIAM H. BENTWELL.
FRANCIS ADAMS, Esq., &c., &c., &c.
[To be continued.]

ARKANSAS AN ORGANIZED STATE.

Speech of Hon. George S. Boutwell,
of Massachusetts, in the House
of Representatives, Feb.
16th, 1864.

In the House, on Tuesday, the 16th instant,
F. DAWES, the chairman of the Committee on
Claims, called up the case of JAMES M.
LINCOLN, claiming to be a Representative to

When the credentials were offered on a previous occasion, Mr. Davis, of Maryland, moved to lay them upon the table. At the request of Mr. Dawes, on Tuesday, Mr. Davis withdrew the motion, and allowed Mr. Dawes to explain why he presented them, which he did in a concise statement. Mr. Davis debated the subject at some length, reflecting somewhat upon the action of the President and General Banks in organizing a State government in Louisiana. Mr. Davis, in answer to a question by Mr. Boutwell, who vindicated the President and General Banks, said that he did not in the least degree cast any imputation upon the faith of the President, but he said he did impeach the reality of his proclamation.

Mr. BOWTELL, of Massachusetts, then spoke for the Union.

Mr. BOWTELL. I do not propose to discuss a legality, but I have a settled conviction that this nation in its present condition ought, before it can go any process, either executive, legislative or judicial, to restore the Union. I have no desire to canvass the whole question. The right of this gentleman, if he has any legal right, to a seat upon this floor, is a question of legislative and unimportant claim as compared with the right of the loyal people and the loyal States of this Union to know, rat of all, and upon most substantial and thorough investigation, whether Arkansas is a State in this Union. I have no personal interest in this matter as much as I was able, from the commencement of the contest until now, and I have the settled conviction that the State of Arkansas and the other ten co-operating States are entitled to be recognized as States of this Union, and to be treated as such by the constitutional Congress of this Union.

MR. GANSON. I would like to ask the question when those States ceased to exist. Was it the passage of the secession ordinance? If not, would you like to know at what point of time they ceased to exist and got out of the Union?

MR. BOUTWELL. I will state my own views on my way, and I will go on to state answers to the inquiry of the gentleman from New York. His foundation of my whole theory is in this political proposition, that on this continent neither a colony nor a State has ever existed without the right of secession. I will not dispute. From that proposition I infer another, which is that no State can cease to exist as a State except by the will of the people within its limits. If you deny the constitutional power of a State to secede, you deny the right of a State, as a political organization, you have to admit that, whatever may be the constitutional right or absence of right, the fact still is that the power is in the people of a State to declare its independence.

power under the Constitution, there is neither force in the nation, there is neither power in the universe, in the absence of divine intervention. I am not going to ask you to compel her to take her place in this Union, to add members to this House and Senators to other branch of Congress, except with the consent and will of the people themselves. We have a constitution that has been in force thirty years past. Arkansas has declared, in the presence of the world and in the most formal manner known to human proceedings, that, as State, she has ceased to exist in the American Union.

MR. GARNER. Will the gentleman yield to me?

MR. BOTWELL. No, I think I will go on. I have ceased to exist. Call it suicide, if you may, but though it be suicide it is none the less a fact. You search human and divine laws in vain for authority that an individual may take his own life. All law is against it.

self-destruction, when his lifeless body lies before you, it is in vain that you reason on law, and say that he had no right to do the deed. He has ceased to exist by his own will. The State has no power to punish a dead man. He is expressed in some way or other, but according to the form which he had potency and effect during these three years, has ceased to exist as State of the American Union.

THE GENTLEMAN FROM MASSACHUSETTS will permit me to ask him a question. He says that the State of Arkansas, by the will of her own people, ceased to exist, and that the States of the Union have no interest in that question as well as the people of Arkansas?

MR. BUTWELL. I answer, yes.

MR. BEAHM, of Missouri. Have not the people of Arkansas the right to determine that direction as to prevent even the majority of the people of Arkansas from taking out the State?

MR. BUTWELL. If the gentleman asks me

Mr. BOTWELL. If the gentleman asks me whether there be the right in this country to produce a new State, I say, yes. That is not the question, I say, yes; but if he asks me whether there be any constitutional power by which we can prevent the people of Arkansas from declaring that their State organization has been dissolved, I say, no. That is the matter within their own control as a fact; and they cannot escape from a fact, whatever your reasons and theories may be. By the voice of the people of Arkansas their State has been dissolved, and the question remains? The jurisdiction of the General Government under the Constitution over the territory of Arkansas is thus unimpaired, exactly as it was before this so-called ordinance of secession was passed. The result is that the jurisdiction and sovereignty over the people of the State of Arkansas, after more or less than it was before the first shot was fired, remains in the hands of the people.

the people of Arkansas? Speaking legally and also as a matter of fact, they have just those rights which they can enjoy without a